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they recognized that war means interruption to trade, consequently interruption to the stream of dollars flowing into rapacious and capacious pockets, that it spells depression in business and loss of profits, and that consequently the voice of the business man is heard in the land where before was only the call to duty from the lips of the preacher. Now it is not enough, in explanation of the attitude in recent years of the business men, to call attention to the work of Dr. Barclay or President Paine or Dr. Trueblood or Mr. Mead, important as their work of propaganda has been. The reason lies deeper than that, deeper than the material interests which the business men have in uninterrupted trade. To be sure, the growth of sentiment in this country has come coincidentally with a vast increase in our foreign trade, an increase so great as to amaze and dismay our competitors.

Yet, notwithstanding all that, I assert that the attitude of business men in opposition to war as a means of settlement of international disputes is not determined wholly or even largely by sordid considerations. It has been my good fortune to have a slight opportunity during the past ten or fifteen years to see below the surface of things somewhat, and get what I believe to be a truer idea of the average business man, and therefore it is my conviction that the business men have become interested in this question mainly because of a deep and real sense of the essential brotherhood of man, and that sense has come to them by means of this very commercial intercourse between nations. It has been borne into the consciousness of our business men by these means that the German whom he meets in China, the Frenchman whom he finds in the countries of the Mediterranean and the Nile, the Englishman who, side by side with us, enters the solitudes of Africa or the virgin markets of South America, are brethren, engaged in peaceful pursuits, not restless for conquest or seeking another's injury. [Applause.]

Commerce has roused the moral sense of the business community against this moral wrong. And there has arisen in this country, as there has arisen in France and England and to some extent in Germany, a wave of protest by the business men against their countries being involved in wicked and cruel and wasteful war. And so the word I intended to bring to-night, — and I was despoiled of my opportunity by the brilliancy of the speakers who have preceded me, — the word I intended to bring was that, as we are congratulating ourselves on the spread of peace sentiment among all classes of people in this country and in foreign lands, let us not do the business men the injustice of believing that their interest in this cause, which I believe to be the greatest cause that has commanded the attention of the world in my generation at least, is due to sordid motives. Let us rather do them the honor of believing that they are unselfish advocates of a higher law than the law of brute force in the settlement of disputes, whether international or otherwise. It is to this recognition I believe they are entitled. [Applause.]

The revised notes of the address of Ex-Governor Bates have not been received in time for insertion in this issue.

The Arrest and Reduction of Armaments an Urgent Necessity.

Address of Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant in the French Senate on the 11th of April, when the Navy Budget was under consideration.

Gentlemen: We heartily applauded the eloquent discourse of the President of the Council at the opening of the discussion on the budget.

No one better than he could have rendered just homage to the work of regeneration which has within the last thirty-five years redeemed France from her disasters and repaired so many mistakes of the past. But the more admirable this work has been, the more it is our duty to watch lest it be compromised. The general reporter on the budget will himself also have performed a great service if he applies himself once more with his extraordinary ardor to its defense. The gloomy picture which he has drawn of our actual financial situation and of the dangers of the future ought thoroughly to arouse public opinion. It merits as large publicity as possible, for it is wise. Mr. Antonin Dubost evidently had this in mind, for he wrote: "The country, the parliament, the government itself, is ignorant of the true state of our finances."

This ignorance each one of us ought to try to dissipate according to the measure of his strength, not underestimating the amelioration already accomplished by the government in recent years, but rather seeking to make them greater. This is what I propose to do as to what concerns our naval expenses, the increase of which I am about candidly to oppose.

I leave aside the question of finding out whether or not our credits are being properly used, and whether our administration of the marine, as well as that of other countries, will ever find a solution of the problem of constantly modifying itself with its colossal material, in the midst of the controversies with which we are familiar, and following the daily discoveries of international science. Others more competent than I have tried to distribute responsibility between men and circumstances. I shall keep myself, without party spirit, as far as possible from criticism of individuals or of ministers, upon ground common to us all, the ground of the national defense.

There is not a single member of parliament, in France or elsewhere, who does not desire above all things to assure the national independence, the moral and material security of the country. There is no one who does not understand that without that security labor, internal prosperity, proper foreign relations, even progress itself, are all impossible, and that peace would be only a name, or rather a lie, a temptation offered to injustice and violence, to those eternal enemies which President Roosevelt has recently termed the "powers of evil."

How are we to bring about this security? That is the whole question. I will speak of nothing else.

Will it be by the adoption of a naval, military and colonial program? That goes without saying. We shall never have too much method and organization in that class of affairs. Our three armies, on land, sea and in the colonies, ought to have a single budget, and to be controlled by a homogeneous administration, dictated by our economic and financial situation, and by our relations

with the world at large. Long ago that archaic expression, "ministry of war," ought to have given place to that of "ministry of national defense," which implies the harmony and not the anarchy of all the elements of our activity. That will be the only way to put an end to these contradictions, risks of conflict, those inconceivable wastes, the comic and striking story of which has just been related to us with so much spirit by Mr. Antonin Dubost.

But what should be the nature of this program?

Here, gentlemen, is a new proof of the ignorance which Mr. Antonin Dubost complains of. The project of increasing our naval expenditures is sufficiently serious in itself, it would seem, to force itself upon our attention, to demand our thorough investigation. But, no! During a whole week, only a month since, the Chamber of Deputies had the question under consideration. Finally it reached a solution by a vote in accordance with the declarations of the government. That does not prevent the President of the Council, in speaking to the Senate, from already having forgotten these facts; the Minister of Finance does not know what the Minister of Marine has said; the right hand of the government does not know what its left hand is doing. Mr. Rouvier is even astonished that any allusion should be made to those future expenses estimated, by no one knows whom or why, at more than a thousand million francs. He characterizes as "vague and nebulous" the projects with which we are occupied; according to him the danger exists only in our imagination.

The Minister of Finance will permit me not to share in his optimism. The recent debates in the Chamber of Deputies, the projects and the declarations of the government concerning the necessity of keeping up for twelve years, until 1917, the exceptional effort of 1900, are not a dream. Nothing is more real, and the less it is spoken of in the Senate the more we have reason to be occupied with it while there is still time.

During the course of the discussion in the Chamber of Deputies they did not confine themselves to the determination of a rational method of procedure; they went much beyond this. They have confounded two quite distinct things: the elaboration of a program, an act of wisdom, and the increase of our expenditures, an act of folly. They wish to persuade us that one does not go without the other. Yet the contrary is true. A good naval program ought to be in harmony with our resources; it implies economy and not increasing expense; it ought to substitute quality for quantity, strength for mere show; otherwise it is a parade program, a deception. However rich a country may be, it cannot be fortified by crushing it with burdens; that only exhausts it and exposes it to catastrophe.

And this elementary reasoning, be assured, is not applicable to France alone. Possibly we even have, in spite of everything, a greater future before us, more power of resistance than our neighbors. I have proved this many times, for we are relatively less menaced by competition and by social revolution. In all the parliaments the ideas which I am expressing have been set forth, in the name of patriotism and of reason, for parliaments are many, but truth is one. All the great powers feel themselves imperilled before the exactions of the "armed peace"; every one of them curses the general current which is dragging it on, but no one dares resist, and the governments, confronted with the uneasiness of the people, appear at the same time powerless either to stop or to go on.

As to France, we are rapidly approaching a new crisis. The recent discussion of the navy credits for 1905 in the Chamber of Deputies, and the interpellation which preceded it, were only a bait, a prelude to new increases in our naval expenditures. Read the report, the speeches of the reporter of the budget, of the president of the budget commission, of the Minister of Marine, the protestations and reservations of several of the deputies, notably those of former ministers, authors of the program of 1900, the vote finally passed by the Chamber of Deputies on the 23d of February, by 450 to 108, and worded thus: "The Chamber invites the government to present with as little delay as possible a program for the construction of new warships,"— read these and you will see that there is unfortunately nothing nebulous in it, and that, if our naval expenditures ceased for a moment the past year to increase, and were even slightly reduced, the time of arrest has now passed. They tell us that we ought, without deceiving ourselves, "to prepare ourselves for great sacrifices," and, to quote the very words of the reporter, "to begin anew the steady advance of our naval expenditures, to put into the budget as a whole an ever-increasing portion for the navy."

This very year the expenses of the navy have increased more than five millions of francs, as compared with those of 1904 — an insignificant increase, they tell us, in comparison with the expenses of the future. To have a fleet worthy of our traditions, of our expansion, a fleet in accordance with our policy, such is the sole preoccupation, the "*leit motif*" of the partisans of naval increase.

How great do they consider to be the amount of the increase which is judged indispensable? We can only guess.

The program of 1900 assumed an annual expenditure for new vessels to the full extent of the capacity of our shipyards; that is to say, one hundred and five to one hundred and twenty million francs per year — one hundred and twenty-one million, the Minister of Marine declares, and I quote his own words, from his speech of February 22: "I come now to the chief question in this debate, the necessary increase of our naval forces. It is certain that the Budget Commission is right, a serious effort is necessary in order to increase our naval forces. Yes, such an effort is imperative." And further along: "We shall not have to pay in any single year, until in 1917, a sum greater than one hundred and twenty-one millions for our new vessels." That is, be it said in parenthesis, a total of one billion and a half francs, to be exact, one billion four hundred and fifty-two millions, for new ships.

But the new ships are not all. To the annual burden which an ironclad costing thirty to forty million francs imposes, must be added the expenses of maintenance, both personal and material, for repairs and inevitable changes. We have neglected, on the other hand, in carrying out the program of 1900 with our ordinary resources, important expenses, secondary but vital, which cannot be put off indefinitely. There is also the question of supplies. The wear and tear of a warship

becomes a formidable matter; it increases with the speed and the rapidity of fire. Why overload our ironclads with cannon if they are without sufficient projectiles, like those of the Spaniards in Cuba? The budget reporter in the Chamber of Deputies calls to mind the example of Japan, which has been able to sustain a struggle of more than a year; and he warns us that to-day our Mediterranean fleet would not have enough large projectiles to meet a combat of two hours and a half in duration. It is the same with the matter of coal. As for our naval harbors, they also require further outlay. And these expenses are immediately imperative, from the very fact of progress. The river Brest, for example,— and it is not the only one,— is no longer large enough to meet our requirements. The vessels, when launched, are too large to follow its course without accident as far as the breakwater, and their first attempt obliges them to return for repairs.

It is the same with our arsenals. Their outfit is out of date. Workmen are compelled to use machines forty and fifty years old. And I am not speaking of the defense of the colonies, of a great supplementary naval port, which the colonial deputies, always prodigal of the money of the metropolis ——

Mr. Jules Godin: You are mistaken.

Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant: Do not force me to indulge in personalities. There are exceptions, I know, but the exception proves the rule. The colonial deputies ask us to create in Indo-China a new military port with its appendages, arsenals, fortifications, magazines, storehouses, garrisons.

Finally, the personnel of our new vessels, under the new law requiring but two years' service, will be kept up only by means of increased pay and the creation of schools, etc.

To resume: Increase of expenditures for the building of new ships, for keeping them in good repair and up to date, to provide them with harbors suitable to their size, even in our possessions over seas, and arsenals according to their needs, to furnish them with equipments, — such are the prospects which are before us, such are the sacrifices which are demanded of us, that we may have in the end not the fleet which is suitable for us, but the fleet demanded by our policy.

The fleet demanded by our policy? But we should first know what our policy is. I insist that the fleet demanded by our policy is not an element of security; it is rather a new danger, the gravest of all the dangers, if we have not that policy which is in harmony with our resources. Is this our policy? In other words, are we in a condition to carry out our fine projects? No. This is the truth which the country ought to know. The Senate will pardon me if I again give the proofs of this, since in spite of so many warnings, reiterated for the last ten years, it is invariably unknown.

How, pray, are we to meet the expenses into which we are being forced? By a loan? In time of profound peace? What, then, should we do in time of war? No country would authorize such a loan. No one in France at any rate would dare propose to increase still further our debt, already above thirty thousand million francs (to speak only of the state debt), — the most formidable that a nation has ever known, twice that of England, twice that of Germany. Nor would any one propose to try again the artifice of extraordinary budgets. Nor, furthermore, can we give up the sinking funds already too much neglected. There remains for us, then, no expedient, nothing outside our ordinary annual resources. What these are every one knows. Our receipts are estimated, for 1905, at three billion six hundred million francs, out of which two billions are already set apart for the reduction of our debt and for our military organization.

There remains a billion and a half for the current expenses of our country. That is a very small sum. It is anomalous to see the burdens of the past and the outlay for purposes of destruction so heavily outweigh the outlay for productive purposes. Such a disparity renders illusory the greater part of our projects for economic, intellectual and social reform. But let us go on. Let us see what we can get out of that billion and a half. Can it be increased? Are our receipts going to keep pace with our expenditures? Is our population increasing? Do we see developing, in comparison with our competitors, our commerce, our merchant marine, our agriculture, our industry, all the sources, all the signs of the national prosperity?

First, let us consider our population. That it remains stationary is well known, while that of the other great powers is increasing. We have steadily about thirty-eight million inhabitants. England has caught up with us, and now goes beyond us with forty-one million, Japan with forty-six million, Germany with fifty-six million. The United States has just double our number, seventy-six million, and that country is only just commencing. I do not speak of Russia, which has more than one hundred million, and China, which has from four hundred million to five hundred million, a negligible quantity we were saying to ourselves twenty years ago.

This difference between the small population of France and that of the other countries ought always to be kept in mind. People are amazed at the increasing number of functionaries and of the leisured classes, to say nothing of the progress of intemperance and prostitution. All these would disappear if our youth could properly employ the activity with which they are overflowing. This is proved by their success as soon as a new career is open to them in the domain of invention, art, science, and their application.

A state, the number of whose taxpayers has doubled, can double its expenses without increasing its burdens. But if we would imitate it we must double our imposts, make the same taxpayers pay twice over, paralyze labor, crush the country; that is the mathematics of the thing.

But some one will say that increase of population is not the only sign of a people's wealth. France is a privileged country. She has no need of a large number of inhabitants. Her climate, her soil, her specialties, her inheritance from the past are veritable monopolies with her. By producing a high class of people she will always keep her rank; she will always have money to pay for her fleets.

There is another illusion. It is with our economic development as with our population; the arrest is evident. On this point I appeal to the authority of the general reporter on the budget in the Chamber of Deputies. In a recent paper, the 5th of March, the honorable

Mr. Baudin writes: "A sorry outlook; money is passing from sight or leaving the country. Our burdens are going to increase in enormous proportions, but our receipts do not increase. The income of the land tax has remained stationary the past ten years. The amount of our harvests is the same. Our commerce and our industry are not following in their entirety the same growth as in the other countries. Where shall we get the means with which to meet our supplementary expenses? The outlook is terrible!"

I shall be told that by a singular coincidence the two general reporters of the Chamber and the Senate look at the dark side. I could support their testimony with that of many others. I shall do better than that; I shall make use of the same arguments which the defenders of the increase of our naval expenditures have just employed in the Chamber of Deputies.

In his speech of the 21st of February last, the reporter of the naval budget in the Chamber of Deputies, Mr. Charles Bos, did not conceal at all the extent of the sacrifices which he recommended to us. He recognizes that our expenses for construction and for maintenance of vessels have reached, in ten years alone, the sum of three billions of francs, — two thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine millions, — and that our naval and military expenses together have increased in the same period thirty-eight million for war and forty-two million for the navy — eighty million in all as compared to the preceding period. But he consoles himself immediately by telling us that the other departments have likewise raised their credits.

That is a matter of course, gentlemen, with regard to public instruction, although the increase here is relatively small — thirty-two million — in comparison with eighty million for military purposes.

Mr. Charles Riou: And the limit is not yet reached.

Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant: The public instruction budget is also a budget of national defense. A people does not fight with weapons alone; it has need of a lofty soul, education, educators. These educators are furnished by our schools. In the Russian army they have been wanting. This was partly, says Mr. Recouly, military correspondent of *Le Temps*, the cause of its reverses in Manchuria. I have then a right to be astonished when a manifest lack of increase in our credits for public instruction is interpreted as a mark of progress.

The same is true in regard to the post and the telegraph, which represent an infant industry in full progress. This industry, I grant you, is developing, but more slowly than in most other countries. And why? The Hon. Mr. Piettre was telling you only a moment ago. It is because appropriations are taken away from it in part, in order to support the military budgets.

As for commerce, Mr. Charles Bos rejoices to see its expenditures increased by twenty-three millions. He thinks the country credulous enough not to examine into the matter more closely. The truth, however, is clearly evident. Of the forty-nine millions which the Department of Commerce expends annually, it devotes forty to paying bounties to industries which cannot live of themselves. The President of the Council has recognized this; and this sign of distress is presented to us as a symptom of prosperity.

Agriculture, less favored than commerce, does not offer even the appearance of increase. "This department is essentially one of subventions," writes our colleague, Mr. Denoix. Its budget is invariably about forty-three million francs.

As to the Department of Public Works, nothing is said. Its outlay, however, preëminently reveals our condition. Has this increased? Naturally so, since we must meet the universal competition, and compete with new peoples provided with the most perfect means of production. Like that of education, the budget of Public Works is a budget of national defense. Its outlays constitute means of action; they serve to increase our resources. In the last two years, notably, the development of our international relations has attracted large numbers of foreigners to Paris, to our watering places, to our health resorts, and to our lines of travel. We ought not to be sparing in certain outlays for which we shall be a thousand times repaid, in bettering in France the public roads, hygiene and access to our shores. Not so! The expenditures of the Department of Public Works have been reduced thirty-four millions.

Mr. Charles Laurent (Government Commissioner): There is the guarantee of interest.

Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant: There are also other causes. There are expenditures which might have been made and which have not been made.

The General Reporter: It is very important to add to the items of the budget of Public Works credits which figure in other budgets for the same object. Otherwise you would not have the whole of the annual expenditure for public works.

Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant: Yes, sir, I heard you develop that very appropriate argument on the tribune, and I am taking it into account. But if you will permit, I am going to call to mind other considerations which authorize me in my turn to say that more ought to have been used on the great public works.

Mr. Victor Leydet: It ought to have been so, because they have already been voted for, for the most part.

Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant: That is evident. Our predecessors, gentlemen, understood better their interests and their duty. Only twenty-five years ago our foreign relations were more unpleasant and difficult to handle than now. The war of 1870 was then recent, the prospect of war in 1875 still more recent. France had to make good her losses, pay her debt, create anew the elements of her defense. And yet the men who assumed this heavy burden understood the complexity of it, and took up vigorously their program of military, financial, educational and economic reorganization. Your president, at the present time, of the army commission submitted to the patriotism of the Parliament in January, 1878, the admirable plan which bears his name — the Freycinet plan.

It involved an expenditure of four billion francs in all: three billion for railways, one billion for good roads and ports. The railways have been constructed, but the billion which ought, by natural circulation, to have served to develop the most fertile parts of our country, has been turned to other uses. In thirty years we have not been able to give one billion for productive works, but we have spent three billions in ten years alone for the war

marine. While pretending to ask for more each year through taxation, we are neglecting the valleys of France which would be the most productive. The Rhone has no outlet; the Loire, the Garonne, filled with sand bars, are going back to their wild condition. For want of the smallest credits, river navigation exists no longer in a part of France, and the only attention paid to our finest rivers is to repair the disasters of flood brought on by our heedlessness. A single inundation cost fifty million francs in damages; in this respect our administration approaches "Arabian disorder,"— carelessness the more culpable because only a little effort would be required for the restoration of vitality everywhere, as is attested by the results obtained, and that almost without money, by our forestry commission in its work of restoring the forests.

The abandonment of our river regions, which coincides with the increase of our naval constructions, has as its result the transfer of our working people to the arsenals. These people go where the wages are the highest. In opening to them the national workshops along the coasts, you strip the fertile lands of their inhabitants to create new classes of functionaries and of the unemployed. You leave ruin where nature offered you riches; you create an artificial activity, a cause of inevitable disorder; for sooner or later, on the day when that activity diminishes, a strike breaks out in the shipyards, and everywhere there is discontent.

This is a very natural reaction since (quoting always from the budget reporter in the Chamber of Deputies) out of twenty-seven thousand workmen in our arsenals, twelve thousand are unemployed, and the rest are often without work. Are our commercial harbors in better condition than our war harbors? Far from it. Isolated from their natural sources in the interior, closed to river navigation, our chief seaports, our historic ports, Nantes, Bordeaux, are at the same time inaccessible to the large ocean steamers.

Mr. Alcide Treille: Nantes has made considerable progress for some years.

Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant: I have many times spoken in commendatory terms of the development of the port of Nantes. But Nantes is so much the more to be praised because of its effort to react against the government neglect of the entire basin of the Loire.

Mr. Peytral: You know that large sums have recently been voted.

Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant: But you of all men, my dear colleague, would not wish to see Marseilles without communication with the Rhone.

Mr. Peytral: I mean simply that the same vote which gave Marseilles the necessary funds for the canal from Marseilles to the Rhone, at the same time gave to the town of Nantes very important credits.

Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant: I am aware of that, but the Loire is still not navigable, and Marseilles is none the less without communication with the Rhone. Havre is forced to witness the majestic transatlantic steamers from Hamburg passing outside of its shallow waters and picking up at the extreme end of our coast our travelers and our merchandise. Our subsidized steamers, on their return from New York, where the people embark as well as land at the dock, are obliged to stop for hours in sight of Havre without being able to enter until the tide is in. In the stormiest weather their passengers are compelled to be transferred to small boats, an experience not soon forgotten. The bad reputation thus acquired causes the fortune of other European ports, much worse situated but less antiquated.

As to our interior ports, they ought all to be flourishing stations on the great river routes binding the Atlantic and the Mediterranean to Central Europe. It is a pity to see these beautiful French rivers flowing useless and deserted past abandoned wharves, — Agen, Toulouse, Orleans, Tours, Mans, and many others! Yet you make no protest! Will you remain forever untrue to your natural mission, to your role of intermediary among the nations?

Our merchant marine is being ruined by your neglect, deprived of the very means of existence; but we vote it in return subsidies — and ironclads. . . .

Mr. Victor Leydet: A little freight would be more valuable.

[COMPLETED IN NEXT ISSUE.]

The twenty-third conference of the International Law Association will open at Christiania, Norway, on the 4th of September.

Form of Bequest.

I hereby give and bequeath to the American Peace Society, Boston, a corporation established under the laws of the State of Massachusetts, the sum of ——— dollars, to be employed by the Directors of said Society for the promotion of the cause of peace.

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